1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither ex- [796]
tensive nor developed in systematic form.

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are
known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain [124]
the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits,
one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf.

Souls, Spirits and Shamanism

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaflv*, refers to both 774
soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or
lies unconscious (*k'ódjImpik*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a
man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly
self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he
fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no
explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought him-
self in another place.

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*ämiyᵘ*[1]); this is short 775
and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their [787]
familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others
may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a
relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken.
Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one
would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about [769]
alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is
dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the
following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful.

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1] The word *hwhjhlhl* was also given for ghost in an association test.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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775 was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees [774] and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who 177 draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when 775 he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes 776 people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjîpa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed 774 so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or 822 both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow [192] are used; *ułłapoa"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yá'daiyá*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).

I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost 776 without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit 787 (*atmą"*)[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *gi'atmą* (doctor, medicine).

Bilff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed them in this dry, safe place.

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste.

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do.

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so focused my camera. The women threw their *sutaws* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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774 cameras they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

343 Families who owned large plots of ground had several store-
423 houses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had
427 been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

000 It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote my report. I had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

SIR: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

241 Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never [312] troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him;

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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869 shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes
224 of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made
[789] success more certain.

861 Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all
774 my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

626 However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance
681 with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jolka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

888 Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children
867 regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the
889 warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya′ and In-ya-ja-al′-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā′, commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

CHAPTER V

MOTHERHOOD

Conception and Pregnancy

843 In earlier days, women counted their menstrual periods and calculated the length of pregnancy by changes of the moon. Now, of course, reference is made to calendar months. If a woman misses menstruation once she suspects pregnancy, and a second interruption is considered by her almost a positive indication.

The Havasupai recognize intercourse as the cause of pregnancy. Al-
842 though a few individuals believe conception is possible after a single act,
826 popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps longer, are necessary. Conception is thought to occur when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sac in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is there present at certain times which are especially favorable, or dangerous, as fertility periods. Perhaps this notion accounts for the belief that conception will occur invariably if intercourse takes place during menstruation.

An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of
843 pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood,
826 but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she said. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy "so the baby will grow good."

None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered
842 its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two
774 or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquistion of a soul.

There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women fore-
842 tell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is believed to be perceived by a small child of opposite sex from the fetus who betrays embarrassment in the presence

[Text continues on page 118]

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
782 Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

775 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
756 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
761 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [764]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. [774] Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls.

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 [756] [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. [781] 775 [754]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [962]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787] [434]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

179 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[489] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 [317] Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [844] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [766] [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time
[759] brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[788] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."